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ORIGIN NEA-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-01 ISO-00 /004 R

66619

DRAFTED BY NEA/ARN MHMAUGHAN

APPROVED BY NEA/ARN ARDAY

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R 011840Z JUL 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 155130

FOLLOWING REPEAT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ATHENS ANKARA LONDON
CAIRO DAMASCUS TRIPOLI TEL AVIV JUN 27

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 2070

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, XY

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS RETURNS TO CYPRUS

1. SUMMARY: ARCHBISHOP ENDS 10-DAY, FOUR-NATION TOUR
CLAIMING FULL SUPPORT FROM ARAB STATES. PUBLIC RECORD
INDICATES HE GAVE ARAB LEADERS FAR MORE SUPPORT FOR THEIR
CAUSES THAN THEY IN TURN GAVE HIM ON CYPRUS PROBLEM. HE USED
TRIP AS OCCASION FOR SOME RATHER NASTY GRATUITOUS ANTI-AMERICAN
REMARKS. END SUMMARY

2. PRESIDENT MAKARIOS RETURNED TO CYPRUS JUNE 26, FOL-
LOWING 10-DAY VISIT TO EGYPT, SYRIA, IRAQ, AND LIBYA.
IN AIRPORT REMARKS (REFS FBIS TA261835Z AND TA270815Z
JUNE NOTAL), ARCHBISHOP SAID HIS TRIP HAD OPENED WAY FOR
GREATER GOC COOPERATION WITH ARABS IN "COMMERCIAL,
ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL, CULTURAL AND OTHER FIELDS".
HE CLAIMED ARAB LEADERS HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR
"OUR STURGGLE TO REGAIN FULL INDEPENDENCE AND TER-
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RITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS." HE SAID TURK PROPAGAN-

GANDA IN ARAB AND MOSLEM WORLD, THOUGH VERY ACTIVE, HAD SO FAR YIELDED POOR RESULTS. THROUGHOUT, ARCHBISHOP REFUSED GO INTO MANY DETAILS OF VISITS, OR RESULTS HE CLAIMED TO HAVE OBTAINED.

3. ANSWERING QUESTIONS, MAKARIOS SAID:

A. LIBYAN LEADERS HAD OFFERED "FULL CLARIFICATION" OF THEIR POLICY IMMEDIATELY AFTER CYPRUS COUP. GOL HAD IMPRESSION IT WAS WORKING FOR RETURN OF ARCHBISHOP TO CYPRUS BUT HAD BEEN "MISLED."

B. WHILE IN LIBYA, HE HAD SIGNED AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT. OTHER ACCORDS TO FOLLOW IN FIELDS OF CIVIL AVIATION, ECONOMIC & TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, BANKING.

C. ALL FOUR ARAB STATES HAD SUPPORTED "LAWFUL GOVERNMENT" OF CYPRUS.

D. HE HAD DISCUSSED WAYS OF CARRYING OUT "JOINT STRUGGLE" WITH ARAB LEADERS, BUT HE REFUSED GIVE DETAILS. ASKED ABOUT HIS EARLIER COMMENT THAT CYPRUS HAS MUCH TO LEARN FROM EXPERIENCE OF PALESTINIANS, MAKARIOS DECLINED ANSWER, IN ORDER "AVOID MANY MISINTERPRETATIONS". HE LATER ADDED THAT ARAB WORLD COULD HELP REACH SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM, BUT HE DECLINED TO CITE "PRACTICAL WAYS" BY WHICH THIS COULD BE DONE.

E. DENKTASH PROPOSAL OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS MATTER OF "LOW PRIORITY AND IS DESIGNED TO UNDERMINE GOC'S AUTHORITY.

F. HE HAD NOT RECEIVED INVITATION TO CSCE SUMMIT BUT "WOULD DEFINITELY WISH TO ATTEND SUCH A CONFERENCE".

4. COMMENT. IN GENERAL, MAKARIOS SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN MUCH MORE SUPPORT TO HIS ARAB HOSTS THAN THEY GAVE HIM IN RETURN. IN THIS SENSE, EGYPT WAS HIGH POINT FOR GOC CAUSE: ASSAD, AL-BAKR, QADDHAFI NEVER EQUALLED SADAT'S PUBLIC BACKING FROM ARCHBISHOP. ABSENCE OF ANY COMMUNIQUE FROM DAMASCUS, IMPOVERISHED REFERENCES TO CYPRUS PROBLEM IN BAGHDAD AND TRIPOLI COMMUNIQUE (FBIS JN241912Z AND LD261752Z JUN NOTAL RESPECTIVELY) INDICATIVE OF THIS IMBALANCE. NOT SURPRISINGLY, GOC MEDIA TRIED TO GIVE IMPRESSION THAT MAKARIOS HAD RECEIVED MAJOR BACKING FROM ARAB LEADERS: CONFIDENTIAL

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E.G., PIO HANDOUTS CLAIMED THAT AL-BAKR HAD "CONDEMNED ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS IN CYPRUS", THAT QADDHAFI HAD GIVEN "FULL SUPPORT TO CYPRUS" AND MAKARIOS PERSONALLY. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT ANY ARAB LEADER GAVE MORE THAN LIP SERVICE TO GOC, OR COMDEMNED GOT ACTIVITY ON CYPRUS.

5. ARCHBISHOP BASED HIS PUBLIC APPEALS TO ARAB AUDIENCES ON: COMMONALITY OF STRUGGLE AND ENEMIES

CONFRONTING ARAB, CYPRUS PEOPLES; INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CYPRUS AND ARAB PROBLEMS IN SENSITIVE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA; TIGHTER COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS. IN RETURN FOR ARAB WILLINGNESS RECEIVE HIM AND GRANT AT LEAST RHETORICAL SUPPORT. ARCHBISHOP GAVE A LOT. HE BACKED MAJOR ARAB LINES TO HILT: RE ISRAELI AGGRESSION, JERUSALEM, RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS (INCLUDING SELF-DETERMINATION). HE ACCEPTED COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON MANY EXTRANEIOUS ISSUES DEAR TO RADICAL ARABS: VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. AS HE DID IN 1973, HE AGAIN BACKED QADDHAFI'S PROPOSAL TO CONVERT MEDITERRANEAN INTO "SEA OF PEACE" FREE OF FOREIGN BASES AND FOREIGN FLEETS.

6. MAKARIOS WOVE SNIDE REFERENCE TO IMPERIALISTS, NATO ALLIANCE INTERESTS INTO SOME PUBLIC REMARKS. ARAB RADIOS SAY HE CLAIMED CERTAIN POWERS TRYING TURN CYPRUS INTO BASE (OR "SPRINGBOARD") FOR USE AGAINST ARAB STATES: PLO'S ARAFAT MADE SAME CLAIM TO SEMI-OFFICIAL PHILELEFTHEROS (REF FBIS AT261030Z JUN NOTAL). ARCHBISHOP APPEARS TO HAVE CRITICIZED USG FOR VARIOUS REASONS. SPECIFICALLY, HE BLAMED USG FOR NOT PREVENTING SECOND TURK INVASION (REF DAMASCUS 2369) AND TOOK GRATUITOUS SWIPE AT SECRETARY WHILE IN IRAKLION (REF ATHENS 4701).

7. LOCAL PRO-MAKARIOS PRESS-PARTICULARLY COMMUNIST HARAVGHI AND LYSSARIDES 'TA NEA-- HAS HAILED NEWLY-STRENGTHENED ARAB SOLIDARITY WITH CYPRUS. SEMIOFFICIAL PHILELEFTHEROS JUNE 27 DESCRIBED LIBYA AS "CONSISTENT, UNSELFISH FRIEND." OPPOSITION PATRIS COMPLAINED THAT NO ARAB STATE HAD CALLED FOR WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS, AND WARNED THAT "SATANIC" TURK PROPAGANDA MIGHT UNDO GOOD RESULTS WHICH MAKARIOS HAD OBTAINED ON ARAB TOUR.

8. SCANT COVERAGE IN TURK CYPRIOT PRESS CRITICAL OF BOTH MAKARIOS
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AND ARAB HOSTS WHO TOOK PRO-GOC POSITIONS. LOCAL TURK PRESS GAVE PROMINENT COVERAGE TO CONCURRENT TRIP OF VEDAT CHELIK TO SAUDI ARABIA, CLAIMING THAT SAUDIS RECEIVED HIM AS "MINISTER OF STATE." CRAWFORD UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL LEADERS, VISITS, TRAVEL REPORTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE155130
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ARN MHMAUGHAN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750228-0728
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750794/aaaadgnd.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MAKARIOS RETURNS TO CYPRUS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, XY, (MAKARIOS, ARCHBISHOP)
To: KUWAIT
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006